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The Defence of the Realme

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The Defence of the Realme

By

SIR HENRY KNYVETT

1596

Now for the first time printed, from a MS. in the Chetham Library, Manchester

With an Introduction by Charles Hughes

At the Clarendon Press

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This Treatise
in which
An Elizabethan Soldier
advocates
compulsory military training
for all Englishmen
is dedicated by permission
to
Field Marshal
Earl Roberts, K.G., V.C.

'Tanto nomini nullum par elogium'

INTRODUCTION

THE author of this treatise, which was written in 1596, and is now printed for the first time, was Sir Henry Knyvett, of Charlton, near Malmesbury, Wiltshire. He was descended from a noble family of Buckenham, Norfolk, and his great uncle, Sir Edmund Knyvett, had been Sergeant-Porter to King Henry VIII. His life is not written in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where, however, a full account is given of his brother Thomas, afterwards Lord Knyvett of Escrick, who took a prominent part in the exposure of the Gunpowder Plot.

In the early days of Queen Elizabeth's reign Henry Knyvett saw active service at the siege of Leith against the French, when he 'lost both lim and blood'. On April 14, 1560, Elizabeth wrote to Lord Grey: 'For our trusty and faithfull servants that be with you, we pray you give them for their Service our comfortable thanks; and

and specially let them, which adventured themselves so worthely at the approche to Lethe, be remembered by name that they may think their service well bestowed. For indeed we here much commendation of diverse, as of Sir Henry Percy, your own son, Barnabye, Knevet (of whose hurt we be very sorry) and of others of the Horsemen.'[1] His wounds did not prevent Knyvett (for though the name is spelled in a variety of ways we had better preserve the spelling which he usually adopts in his own signature) from holding a captain's command in the garrison at Berwick, and he says that he 'was twice after that ymployed in yo^r Ma^ties service in Scotland under the Lord Scroope that last died, and the Earle of Sussex then yo^r Maiesties President at York'. But soon after he returned from the Scotch wars; wounded and covered with glory he married a rich heiress, Miss Elizabeth Stumpe, the daughter of Sir James Stumpe, of Charlton, near Malmesbury. She was the granddaughter of a rich manufacturer, William Stumpe.

[1] Haynes, *State Papers*, p. 289. This passage, as quoted in Ridpath's *Border History*, is the only light that is thrown upon the authorship of *The Defence of the Realme* in the Chetham Library Catalogue.

When

When Leland visited Malmesbury (about 1540) he wrote:—

'The hole logginges of thabbay be now longging to one Stumpe, an exceeding riche Clothiar that boute them of the King.

'This Stumpes Sunne hath maried Sir Edward Baynton's Doughter.

'This Stumpe was the chef Causer and Contributer to have thabbay Chirch made a Paroch Chirch.

'At this present tyme every Corner of the vaste Houses of Office that belonged to thabbay be fulle of lumbes [looms] to weave Clooth yn, and this Stumpe entendith to make a stret or 2 for Clothiers in the bak vacant ground of the Abbay that is withyn the Toune Waulles.'[1]

William Stump, then, was not only rich but public-spirited, and besides buying the Abbey Church for the town of Malmesbury, and the Abbey buildings for his looms, he bought the woods and lands of Charlton, where the Lord Abbot of Malmesbury formerly had his seat, and married his son James to a daughter of

[1] Hearne's Leland. Oxford, 1770, vol. ii, p. 53.

one

one of the oldest Wiltshire families, the Bayntons of Bromham.

The marriage of Sir Henry Knyvett[1] probably took place very soon after his return from the fighting in Scotland, for his eldest daughter, Katharine, who had been left a childless widow by her first husband, Richard Rich, took as her second husband Lord Thomas Howard in 1583. It is probable, therefore, that she was born not later than 1562 or 1563.[2]

Sir Henry Knyvett, through his wife's property at Charlton, became one of the leading country gentlemen of Wiltshire. He was High Sheriff in 1577, and was for many years one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the county.

In 1578 we find him writing to Sir John Thynne, the builder of Longleat, in reference to the rumoured child-murder

[1] I think that the writer of the life of Thomas Lord Knyvett of Escrick in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is in error in supposing him to be son to a Henry Knyvett of Charlton, for our Sir Henry, the brother of Thomas Knyvett, seems to have been the only Knyvett of Charlton.

[2] In Mr. Martin Hume's recently published book, *The Great Lord Burghley*, we read (p. 228) that in 1569 the Spanish Ambassador, De Spes, was placed in the custody of Henry Knollys, Arthur Carew, and 'Sir' Henry Knyvett. Our author's knighthood, how-

scandal

scandal connected with 'Wild Dayrell' of Littlecote. The letter is as follows:—

'Syr, I besitch you lett me crave so much favour of you as to procure your Servant Mr Bonham moste effectually to examine his sister tochinge her usage att Willm Dorrell's, the berth of her children, howe many they were, and what became of them. She shall have no cause of feare trulie to confess the uttermost; for I will defend her from all perill howe so ever the case fall owte. The brute [i. e. bruit] of the murder of one of them increaseth fowlely, and theare falleth owte such other hayghness matter against him, as will touch him to the quicke. From Charlton this ijth of January 1578—your loving friend,

H. Knyvett.'[1]

In spite of the charges against Mr. William Darell (or Dayrell or Dorrell), which have resulted in the Littlecote tradition of a midwife brought from a distance

ever, took place—as we find from Dr. Shaw's *Knights of England*—in September, 1574, when Queen Elizabeth conferred the honour upon several Wiltshire gentlemen at Salisbury.

[1] This letter was found among the Marquis of Bath's papers at Longleat. See the *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 241.

who

who saw a newborn babe thrown by a masked gentleman on a blazing fire, we shall find Sir Henry corresponding with the supposed murderer ten years later at the time of the Spanish Armada.

About the year 1580 Sir Henry became involved in a serious quarrel with a neighbouring squire, Mr. Richard Moody (or Mody), of Garsden, and Aubrey relates that this Mr. Moody's father 'was a footeman to King Henry VIII who falling from his horse as he was hawkeing I thinke on Harneslow-heath fell with his head into mudde, with which being fatt and heavie he had been suffocated to death had he not been timely relieved by his footman Mody, for which service after the dissolution of the Abbies he gave him the Manour of Garesden'.[1] The results of this quarrel are related in a Record of the Court of Chancery, published in the *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. xxiii, p. 165. It is in many ways so characteristic of the time that I transcribe the greater part of it.[2]

[1] Aubrey's *Wiltshire Collections*, edited by Canon Jackson, and published by the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1862, p. 241.

[2] For references and loan of these Wiltshire 'By

'By reason of mortal and cruel hatred there was a duel or single combat in Garsden Marsh, in which fight Mr. Richard Moody did grievously and, as was supposed mortally wound Sir Henry Knyvett, who being so wounded, the place of the fight being near the house of Antony Hungerford.[1] Sir Henry Knyvett was brought thither by Richard Moody and others. Moody did lead Sir Henry Knyvett by one of his arms thereunto; and finding Antony Hungerfords wife there her husband being absent, Mr Moody did earnestly and passionately request her that Sir Henry Knyvett might lack nothing that was in her house or that she could do to save his life, and that he would see her satisfied. He sent her messages after to the same effect. Mr Hungerford's wife performed all this. Sir Henry Knyvett

Magazines I am much indebted to Mr. T. H. Baker, of Salisbury. I have not been able to trace the whereabouts of this Chancery Record, and though I have looked through the indexes of the Chancery actions of this time, have not found this suit recorded. Nor can it be found, as I had hoped, among the Marquis of Bath's papers at Longleat.

[1] At The Lea, which was the next parish to Charlton and Garsden. Aubrey says (1696), 'There is a good old Gothique seat of the Hungerford's, and at one of the windows and porch in stone are monk's heads.'

could

could not be removed for 26 days. The physicians and surgeons sent by the Queen had the whole house. Mrs Hungerford provided them with lawns and cambrics which were spoiled and stained with blood and worn out. Hay was consumed to the amount of £30 and many great trees were cut down for firewood. There was a great concourse of friends of Sir Henry Knyvetts, much meat and victuals consumed. The house like to be burned down by reason of the great fires, if Lord Viscount Wallingford, Sir Wm Knightley, and others had not been present and by extraordinary pains preserved the whole house.'

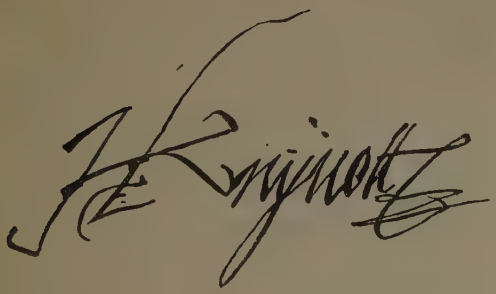
This quarrelsome and combative Mr. Moody had his pious moments, for Aubrey recorded more than one hundred years later that one of the bells in Garsden Church was inscribed 'Ricardus Mody Armiger Secundus Mei Conditor'.[1]

In 1585 Sir Henry Knyvett lost his wife, and the full account of the funeral

[1] I may also note that when the Moody family sold Garsden it was purchased by Sir Lawrence Washington, younger brother of the Washington of Sulgrave, Northamptonshire, from whom George Washington was descended.

is

is preserved in the Heralds' College.[1] 'The Right worshipfull Lady Knyvett, daughter and sole here to Sir James Stumpe, departed this mortal lyffe on Wensdaye the xiiij of July, Aō 1585, whose funeral was worshipfully solemnysed on Thursdaye, the xxixth of the same monethe, at the Church called Charlton Mamesbury in the County of Wilts.' The certificate is signed by Sir Henry Knyvett and his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Howard; and the facsimile of Knyvett's signature [2]

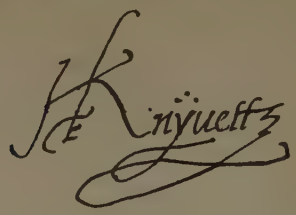


when compared with the facsimile of the signature (or copy of signature) attached

[1] Printed in the *Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. i, p. 469.

[2] From a careful tracing furnished to me by Rouge Dragon.

to the MS. in the Chetham Library, from which our pamphlet is printed,[1]



can leave no possible shadow of doubt as to the authorship of *The Defence of the Realme*.

Sir Henry Knyvett married a second wife, the daughter of Sir John Sydenham and widow of John Fitz, by whom he had no issue.

In 1588, when the preparations were made to resist the Spanish Armada and the army of Parma, Knyvett was one of the Deputy Lieutenants for ordering the county musters of Wiltshire, and was one of the captains appointed to attend on the Lord Chamberlain.[2] In a letter from Sir

[1] I think this is not an actual signature by Sir Henry Knyvett, but has been drawn by the scribe, who engrossed the MS., from one of his signatures. It may, however, be an actual signature written with some care and formality.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part v, MSS. of the Rt. Hon. F. J. Savile Francis

Francis Walsingham to 'my verie loving friend W^m Darell' [the same gentleman whom Knyvett had suspected of murder] the Secretary of State writes:—'The trust reposed in Sir Henry Knevett by their Lords [of the Privy Council] said letters groweth partly of some speciall commendation of him to hir Ma^tie by the Erle of Pembroke of late, for his sufficiencie and forwardness in the Marshall services of your Countie.' This letter was dated July 27, 1588, and was in reply to an inquiry from Darell in reference to the following interesting letter from Knyvett, which throws great light on the actual preparations to resist the Armada and the arming of the Wiltshire contingent.[1]

'So yt is that upon Tuesday night last very late, Hir Ma^tie and my Lords of the privie councell sent my brother Thomas Knevett unto me at my house in St James

Foljambe, Book of Musters, 1588. It may interest Shakespearian readers to learn that at this time the three Deputies to the Earl of Warwick for Warwickshire were Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir John Harington, and Sir Fulke Greville.

[1] This letter was found by C. E. Long, Esq., in the Rolls Office, and is printed in the *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. vi, p. 208.

pke in Weston, straytly comaundinge me to hast me into the Cuntry w^th^ all possible speed when I should meet w^th^ lres [letters] from them w^ch^ should throughly directe me in their will and pleasure. And because I understood from them by word of mouthe that it was principally to bringe upp twoo thousand foote men armed out of o^r^ Shire with all hast that might be, to attend her Ma^te^ persons I thought it good to lett you understand thereof in any wayes. In her Ma^te^ name earnestly requiringe you to see forthwith all souldiers within your division in present readiness to attend their Captaines thorowly furnished in manner followinge at Marlebroughe upon Sunday at afternone at the furthest, if they here no word to the contrary by the said Captaines for that I thinke the fittest place of meetinge. Item that they be clenely armed with their weapons fully furnissed. Item that there be levyed for the conduct of every souldier vj^s^ viij^d^ the same to be brought to Marlebroughe aforesaid, by the constables of the hundred of every division at the tyme assigned for lote money, I can say little to it. Item that there be provided for every Caliver shot iij pounds of powder at the least, or so much money as

as will buy the same after xiiij the pound, which I like better because they shall not spoil it by the way. And three score bulletts at the least. And for every muskett iiij^{li} of powder or money for the same and fiftie bulletts. And for the more expediticon of this service I pray you fail not to send this letter fourthwith you kepinge the double thereof to M^{r} Brunker, Sir James Marvign, and M^{r} Penruddock, and the rest of the justices of that pte of the shire. Whereby I do in like manner require them to see the contents of the same furnished on their behalf, the tenor therof I hope they will accept my hast considered. The rest of the Justices from Sir Edward Baynton northwards I will advertise upon my coming home. And so in hast I hartely betake you to God and salute you all. At Newbery this xxvth of July at two of the Clock after midnight.

Yours assured in all power
H. KNEVETT.'

This letter shows us that Knyvett had a London house in St. James's Park. In the three old maps of London which are the best authorities for the period,[1] a few

[1] *Civitas Londinum*, by Ralph Agas, and the views in William Smith's *Particular Description of* houses

houses are shown on the border of St. James's Park, west of Charing Cross, and we may assume that one of these houses, on the fringe of the open country, and conveniently near the Court, was one of the many advantages which Sir Henry derived from his marriage with the Stumpe heiress.[1] It also shows that Knyvett had no apprehension as to any difficulty in providing the 2,000 Wiltshire men, who were to attend Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury fort with gunpowder, if they had money enough to pay for it. There must have been merchants in London holding large stocks of gunpowder for sale. This letter also shows Knyvett's activity and diligence, for after riding from London to Newbury he writes letters till two o'clock in the morning.

Thomas Hobbes, who was born at Malmesbury in 1588, and whose father held for a time the living of Charlton, told Aubrey that Sir Henry Knyvett 'had

England, and in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. Charing Cross then stood near the present site of King Charles I's statue on the south of Trafalgar Square.

[1] The house probably descended to Knyvett's son-in-law, the Earl of Suffolk, who died 'at his house at Charing Cross' in 1626.

some

some command at the Invasion in 1588 and shortly after his return died of a Feaver he gott there'; but if he did take a fever at Tilbury, it took ten years to kill him.

Our pamphlet, and the comments I make upon it, dispense with saying anything here of Knyvett's militia work in 1595–1596; but I may mention that on October 3, 1597, the Privy Council appointed Sir Francis Popham as a Deputy Lieutenant of Wiltshire, after recording the following preamble: 'Whereas we have found of late that the want of Deputie Lieutenants in the countie of Wiltshire hath bin a great impediment to the dispatch of her Majesty's service in that countie by reason that by death or departure out of the shire there are none left (except only Sir Henry Knevett) of those that were formerly in Commission, which want is so much the more inconvenient by reason of the farre absence of our very good Lord the Earl of Pembroke, her Majesty's Lieutenant of the said County, who is for the moste parte resident in Wales.'[1] Sir Henry Knyvett died in the year following this appointment of a new Deputy Lieutenant,

[1] Acts of the Council, *Hist. MSS. Commission.*

and

and I give in full the certificate of his burial which is preserved in the Heralds' College, and is printed in the *Topographer and Genealogist* :—

'The sayd Sir Henry Knyvett Kt dep^rted this transitory lyfe intestate (at his mannor of Charleton aforesayd) on Wednesday the 14^th day of June 1598 from whence he was worshipfully accompanied w^th mourners unto his parish Church of Charleton where his funeralls were solemnised on Tuesday ye 25^th of July following. His standard was borne by Robt Moore Gent. The preacher was M^r Richard Meryddeth, Bachilor of Divinity. The penon borne by M^r Edward Knyvett [second son of Sir Edmund Knyvett, of Buckenham, Norfolk] his kinsman. The healme and creast by Samuell Thompson, Portcullis, officer of armes. The sword targe and coat by Tho. Lant Wyndsor Herauld (deputy for W^m Camden, Clarencieux King of Armes of the province) by whom the said funeral services were directed and served. The body was borne by his owne servants. The Chief Mourner was M^r Thomas Knyvett his brother, a gent of his Majes Pryvie Chamber. The assistants were Sir James Mervyn Sir Henry Poole

Poole knt, and Mr Henry Dacres and Mr Philip Carey gents. and in wytnes yt this certificate is true we whose names are underwritten have hereunto subscrybed the day and year above specified.

Subscribed by Thos. Knyvett.
T. Lant. Wyndsor. James Mervyn.
S. Thompson. Portcullis. Henry Poole.'

Not only was Sir Henry Knyvett honourably interred, but he is commemorated by a very handsome tomb with large recumbent effigies of himself and his first wife, and smaller figures of their children. His coat of arms on this tomb shows his descent from many of the most noble and honourable families in the country, such as Basset, Bottetort, Cromwell, Lupus, Pickering, Lascelles, and Fenwick. His numerous descendants have most distinguished connexions. His eldest daughter married Lord Thomas Howard, second son of the fourth Duke of Norfolk. He was one of the bravest of Elizabeth's naval paladins. Knighted for his valour in the fight with the Spanish Armada off Calais, he commanded the squadron at the Azores when Sir Richard Grenville's last fight took place as recorded by Raleigh and Tennyson.

son. After the accession of James I he was created Earl of Suffolk, and from him and his wife the Knyvett heiress, the present holder of Charlton Park, the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, is descended. Of Sir Henry Knyvett's two other daughters, Elizabeth married Thomas Clinton, third Earl of Lincoln, and Frances married firstly Sir Wm. Bevill, and secondly Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland. Sir Henry Knyvett must be the ancestor of a large proportion of our present English aristocracy.

Though Sir Henry dates his pamphlet from 'my poor Cottage at Charlton', we must remember that he is addressing Queen Elizabeth, and that in speaking to a sovereign or with extreme politeness to a stranger this Japanese-like depreciation of his dwelling-house was quite a correct form—Capulet speaks of 'my poor house' to Paris, and in Act I, Scene 4, of *Henry VIII*, Cardinal Wolsey, the proudest man in England with the finest palace, gives the message—

> Say, lord Chamberlain,
> They have done my poor house grace.

Though the present great house in Charlton Park, which lies between Charlton village

village and the town of Malmesbury, was not commenced till after Sir Henry's death, his house at Charlton was, no doubt, a suitable country residence for a man of his position. It may possibly have been on the site of the present 'Charlton Cottage', the residence of the late Lady Victoria Howard, who endeavoured, without success, to find for me a portrait of her ancestor. The effigy on his tomb is the only record we possess of his personal appearance.

The crisis which decided Knyvett to present his *Defence of the Realme* to Queen Elizabeth was the capture of Calais from the French by the Spaniards. The Cardinal-Archduke, who commanded in the Low Countries for Philip II, had assembled an army of 15,000 foot and 3,000 horse at Valenciennes, and it was expected he was going to relieve La Fère which Henry IV was besieging. Suddenly he detached de Rosne with 4,000 men to Calais, captured the town on April 17, 1596, and arranged for the surrender of the citadel if it were not relieved within six days. Henry asked for help from Elizabeth, who ordered 6,000 men to be mustered at Dover by Essex, and sent Sir Robert Sidney to stipulate that the price of her

her help should be the surrender of Calais to England. Henry indignantly refused. Two hundred men made their way across the sands to relieve Calais fortress, which was stormed by the Spaniards, and the entire garrison put to the sword. 'Le Sérénissime Cardinal,' says a Catholic writer, 'ainsi eust la ville de Calais et le chasteau qui semblait et aux François et a plusieurs estre imprenable, et ainsi mis les clefs de France dans les poches de son Roi.' Henry IV had a favourite saying that there were three things which nobody would believe—firstly, that the Cardinal Archduke was a good general; secondly, that he, the King of France, was a good Catholic; and thirdly, that Elizabeth was a virgin queen, yet that these things were all equally true.

There was not much danger of a Spanish invasion of England at this moment, but great nervousness seems to have been felt. The militia of the Southern counties had been ordered to be in special readiness. A joint English and Dutch expedition under the Lord High Admiral, with Essex, Raleigh, and Lord Thomas Howard, captured and plundered Cadiz; and from May to August negotiations were going on, which resulted in an alliance between England,

England, France, and the United Provinces, the French Ambassador being received with great splendour in August by Queen Elizabeth in her palace of Nonsuch.

Knyvett finished his treatise at the end of April 1596, and it would then be engrossed, and have the gold lettering of the title carefully wrought to commend it to the Queen's Majesty. If Knyvett presented this Chetham Library MS. himself to the Queen, his long services would secure him a gracious reception, and a few friendly words from the great Queen would be an ample repayment for his labour.

The general idea of Knyvett's pamphlet is that if the manhood of England were properly organized the country might be made safe against invasion. The problem was almost the same as at the present time. Our fleet was the best in the world. If the invading army could be caught on the high seas the men who had fought with Drake could answer for the safety of the country. But our fleet could not be everywhere, and those who knew most were the most uneasy as to what might happen if a Spanish army were once landed on English ground. Had Parma landed his army in 1588, the assemblage of militia at Tilbury

Tilbury might have proved as untrustworthy for defence as Don Quixote's helmet. As Prof. Firth remarks, 'the defensive value of the Elizabethan army was never tested'; and in 1588 Sir John Norris 'wondered that he could see no man in the kingdom afraid but himself'. The militia organization, however, was not so inefficient and rotten as it soon became under Stuart neglect. What Norris felt about Parma's army many Englishmen felt, with much reason, at the time of Napoleón's Boulogne Camp. There were plenty of volunteers, but few of the officers knew their business, the generals were of the type of the Earl of Chatham and Sir Hew Dalrymple, and the military wisdom of the Government was typified by the Martello towers. How many of us, at the present day, would feel any confidence as to what might happen if 60,000 German troops could be landed within striking distance of London? The general suggestions of Sir Henry Knyvett are those of an idealist who offered counsels of perfection and thought his country worthy of an efficient War Office. In his recommendations of the constant exercise together of the smaller units, and the better organization of transport,

port, Knyvett throws a light upon the defects which an old-fashioned soldier (who studied military books) could perceive in the militia of Queen Elizabeth. The system was excellent in theory, but the working reality was different. Nothing can be more admirable than the letter of the Privy Council addressed to Sir Walter Raleigh as Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall on March 21, 1595–6. He is charged 'to see the said forces of that County throughly trained first in such numbers as maie be most conveniently drawne togeather with least charge and trouble to the country, and then in greater numbers that they may be perfectly instructed so that as well the shot maie be taught to discharge their peaces both readily and in good and comely sorte, and the pikemen to use the weapons in such sort as they ought to do, and to learne to knowe their leaders and officers, to marche, and such other addresses as are fit for trained soldiers'.[1] If all the gentlemen in the county were thoroughly efficient officers, and all the noblemen were trained and efficient commanders, the good advice of the Privy Council, and the schemes of Sir Henry Knyvett would have

[1] Acts of the Council, *Hist. MSS. Commission.*

been

been easier to carry out. In this very year 1596, 900 men from Hampshire and Wiltshire were sent to assist Lord Hunsden in the defence of the Isle of Wight, and it was reported to the Council in November that 'ill choice had been made of those 900 men both for dishability of body and other defects and we have written to the Lords Lieutenants to let them understand of the bad choice that was made and the other defects in apparell weapons and furniture of those men which were appointed for so special a service'. Further, on the 13th February following, the Council wrote of 'Complaints that instead of the men being orderly returned, they loosely disperse and remove away, and a great quantity of their arms and furniture either utterly lost or so broken and mangled as they are made deficient and unserviceable for another time . . . further advised of great abuse committed in the discharge of certain soldiers for sums of money.' These were part of the 2,000 Wiltshire men who had been ordered to be in readiness to proceed to Devonshire, Hampshire, or Dorset, as might be required, for the purpose of resisting invasion. When we hear of such irregularities in a county which had

such

such an exceptionally efficient Deputy as Knyvett, and remember that in all England there were no modern fortifications capable of resisting good artillery except at Portsmouth and Berwick, we can understand the misgivings of Sir John Norris.

The most striking fact about old Knyvett's scheme of militia organization is that he incorporates with it the training in the use of the long bow and the employment of archers. Had he written in 1588 his observations would not have seemed out of date; but his pamphlet was written and addressed to Queen Elizabeth at the very moment when the great English national weapon, the long bow, was passing out of use. The county musters in 1588 included a fair proportion of bowmen. For example, in Derbyshire they included 1,600 shot, 800 bows, 800 pikes, and 800 bills. As late as 1590 the County of Essex was required to raise 3,600 men, which included 442 musketeers, 1,076 calivers, and 840 archers. But in 1595 orders were sent from the Council that the billmen were to be converted into pikemen and the bowmen into musketeers. On Sunday, Oct. 26, 1595, at the Court at Richmond, the Privy Council wrote to the Com-

missioners for the County of Buckingham, who asked for respite to certify the musters in order to convert the bows which are among the trained soldiers into calivers and muskets. 'We greatly allow, as they are of more use than the bowes. Therefore wee praie you (as you have begone in some parts of the shire) to convert all the bowes in the trained bandes into muskettes and callyvers, and the billes into pykes, and to see they may be taught to use their pieces.' These orders were sent to all parts of the Country. For example, on the 12th of March, 1595–6, 'John Done, W. Brereton, H. Chumley, P. Warberton, and T. Wilbram,' wrote from Northwich to the gentlemen of the Wirral district of Cheshire, requiring them 'to appeare before us at Burton Hill uppon fryday the first of Aprill next comminge bringing with you all such furniture and weapons for fotemen as you stand charged with all by statute or have formerly showed at other musters heretofore chaunginge your Billes into pykes, and your bowes into muskettes according to our said former letters'.[1]

That the use of the long bow for warlike

[1] Paper by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., 1858, Lancashire and Cheshire Hist. Society.

purposes

purposes in England should have passed away at the very moment when Knyvett was basing his army scheme on the training of all youths to use the old English weapon is a pathetic example of the tragedy of progress—or perhaps we might more fitly employ the word transition rather than the word progress, which is commonly used for the supersession of human skill by machinery. Archery in England was more than a military exercise, it was the universal and popular national game. The traditions of Robin Hood, Crecy, and Agincourt had been reinforced by the statutes of Henry VIII, the eloquence of Bishop Latimer, and the learning of Roger Ascham. But from 1596 onward this national game had no real connexion with preparation for war. From 1599 to 1603 an army of 15,000 men was engaged in Ireland; but though Fynes Moryson gives us a complete account of the numbers and dispositions of this army at different periods of the war, he makes no mention whatever of archers, for the excellent reason that there were none. The Spanish army which landed at Kinsale to assist the Irish found this English army hardened by long warfare, and were met

 with

with more efficient weapons than bows and arrows.

Yet though archery was divorced from war, the practice of it lingered long, and the old edicts remained in force. As late as 1628 the Manchester Court Leet Records have the following astounding entry: 'The jury, upon due consideration of the eminent danger wherein this Kingdom remaneth by a suspected war and being desirous to shew themselves willing members to train up youth in the exercise of artillery, do order that the Constable of this town of Manchester shall before the first day of June next following, cause to be made a large pair of Butts in Alport Lane that young and old may with free access practice the use of bows and arrows.'[1] The law requiring citizens to exercise themselves in

[1] From a paper by W. E. A. Axon, in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. xviii. Manchester was behind the times, but, as is only fitting, Oxford achieved a record in that respect during the Civil War. In Wood's *History and Antiquities* we read that in September 1642 'barbed arrows' were provided for 100 scholars, and in 1643 King Charles asked the members of the University to enlist in a regiment of 1,200 bowmen to be raised by Col. John Knightley. Prof. Firth remarks that it is interesting to find that 'the home of lost causes' was also the home of obsolete weapons.

archery

archery was not repealed until the reign of Queen Victoria. The result of this divorce of archery from war is that boys and youths have had no military training to enable them to defend this Country. The modern Cadet Corps system—which has made no great headway—is the first attempt to perform an obvious public duty since archery ceased to be a war game. It is significant that Mr. Kipling, who though a poet knows something of war, should appear to suggest in his fantasy *The Dream of an Army* that the best chance of organizing our population for efficient national defence is to convert military training into a popular game.

One justification for printing this pamphlet is that, though Knyvett was behind his age in technical matters, his general outlook on the problem of National Defence was sound and 'for all time'. There hardly exists an Englishman who would not admit that it is the duty of every man to defend his country in case of invasion by an enemy. There are very many Englishmen, however, who do not recognize that it is the State's duty to see to it that every man is trained to be efficient for his country's defence.

This

This MS. of Knyvett's *Defence of the Realme* is the property of the Chetham Library, Manchester, which is housed in the ancient College of the Manchester Church—the present Cathedral. When this MS. was written in 1596 the Warden of the Manchester College was Dr. John Dee, mathematician and magician. It was not till 1658 that Humphrey Chetham's trustees bought the old College buildings, founding there the Hospital, a poor boys' training school, and one of the very earliest of free libraries. The MS. has been copied for me by Mr. Kirk, the assistant librarian.

CHAS. HUGHES.

The Defence of the Realme

A briefe treatis or rather a project of a course
to be taken for the defence of this Realme
against all forraine invasion &
for the necessarie service of the
same in all other actions of
warre, Scribled in hast
and finished the xixth
of Aprill
1596

To the Right Excellent prudent and renowned Princes Elizabeth the most mightie Queene of England &c. In testimony of fervent desire of your longe and happie raigne in the fulnes of all felicity.

MOST sacred and worthie to be beloved dread soveraigne, when first I hearde of the Spanyardes flocking into Picardy under pretence to releeve Laferre, and therewith called to minde how Caesar having subdued Fraunce, and intending to invade Englande, brought all his forces to Bullaine & Callice the which hee made his places of assemblies & storehowses for the provisions of his Army. I began to fall into some Ielowsie of that which since hath happened thoughe I did not so soone expect the event thereof. But when advertisment came that the Cardinall of

 Austria

Austria w^th^ Fifteene thowsand men had beseiged Callice, and presentlie in the neck thereof that hee had wone the Towne, I then resolved in my symple conceipte that hee only labored for the like oppertunitie which then Caesar therby had to invade this Realme, which longe he would not deferr. Whereupon although if hee presume to imitate Caesar I see no reason whye Caesar's succes in the first attempt should not prove the fatall destine in all and everie his attempts against your Majestie, in that if Caesar now were to undertake y^t^ enterprise w^ch^ then with a mighty expert and longe dissiplined army, hee against a rude multitude of naked & ignorant people did, I ame perswaded hee would be taught to knowe (as the Spanyardes shal be I hope when ever they come) that the worlde is sufficiently amended with us both in arte, experience, and force to putt a greater number then they are able to land here, to the sworde, without greate

greate difficultie. Yett nevertheles, out of my endles love of your most exellent Majestie and naturall zeale to my Countrye I could not free my selfe from consideration of the state wherein yo^r Highnes & your Monarque standeth, and the meanes whereby you maie best prevent the intended mischife of yo^r enemies towards the same. So that after many debates w^th my selfe and sundrie diversities of fancies w^ch fell into my troubled braine, I made choyse of one onlie course for the present saftie and securitie of both, w^ch I have presumed to offer unto your most approved and grave consideration. Wherin I have used all brevitie possible as well in regarde of the necessitie of the haste as that I knowe yo^r Highnes can see daie at a little hole and everie fault soone found can both easily & sufficientlie amende. And if in the depth of your wisedome & Iudgement, it fall not out a plott presislie fitt to bee followed and yett prove any

grounde or meane to sturr upp a necessarie Motive in yo^r Majesties divine mynde of any other better course that maie directlie tende to that ende, I have my full rewarde, for that thereby, I shall obtayne my onlie wish, and you shall enjoye that which before all the treasures of the worlde I hould fittest for you to wish, namelie immortall fame for the hastening of so suer a meane of the safty of yo^r Royall parson and continuance of the honor and glorie of yo^r Countrie. Nowe in respect y^t I have longe played the treuante and have byn no actor in these late Civill warrs of Fraunce & the Lowe Countries it may be that my oppynion in the judgment of our modrne warriers (who therin only have byn brought upp) maie prove but a falling sicknes, yett if it maie please yo^r Ma^tie not to forgett y^t at the seige of Lieth when fewe or none of them were borne, I had the charge of a hundereth horse, and after the seige ended (where I lost both lim

and

and blood) I had the charge of two hundereth foote in the garrison of Barwick, which were fiftie more then the eldest Captayne there had, and was twise after that ymployed in yo^r Ma^tis service in Scotland under the Lord Scroope that last died and the Earle of Sussex then yo^r Majesties President at York. And therewith if it maie please yo^r Highnes to consider what knowledge so much sufficient experience, Ioyned with the contynuall travell of a diligent mynde ever since w^th sundry other practises in the large Feildes of most aucthours that have written in the Arte of warr maie bringe to a man of meane capacity I hope yo^r Majestie maie finde the lesse cause to be caried awaie with the short resolutions of any, and with the more facilitie be perswaded to favour mee so farr, as to give mee leave before your self (whom above all other I would have my Iudge) to argue with the best experienced of them uppon any poynt of my conceipt

w^ch

w^ch they shall imponge. Alwaies notwithstanding submitting my fancies wholie to the unfayleable censure of your happie Iudgment, and the experienced conceiptes of your grave Councellours. And in that my purpose is not to prescribe any newe rules of the most necessarie arte & honorable Science of warr; But principally to manifest unto yo^r most sacred Ma^tie and to whome els it shall please you to ymparte the same (being such as are alredy both in the theorick and practick thereof throughly instructed) what course I hould in the preparinge ordering & conducting of yo^r forces to be the most easie, leaste chargeable, & most secure, for the defence of yo^r state against all forraine invasion, I hope yo^r Highnes will gratiously accept the same as some parte of the fruites of my earnest care & longing sowle to doe you acceptable service, and I trust all other such your loyall subjectes without any sparke of envie will the rather endevour to frame their

their willing mindes either to further my faithfull invencion or to forge some better that maie concurre with my desire to the best end. Wherein if I seeme to some more curious than needeth, it is because in truth I am no more carefull then needeth to have yo^r Ma^tie behould how rightlie yo^r Monarque maie bee compared to a strong lustie younge horse, that if hee knew his owne strength, would never suffer the most skillfull & curious Rider in the world to back him. And therefore have I endevored in parte to manifest the force of the same unto yo^r Majestie, the which by others in like manner maie be throughly perfected with little labo^r; For by vertue of my precepts to the Cunstables of the hundereds within the division where I dwell in Wiltshiere (the least of Six) contayning four little hundredes, the names of all the people both younge and olde togeather with the number of horse, geldings, hacknies, nagges & Carthorse within

within the Circuit thereof inhabiting and being, Where within three or foure daies without any other muster or trouble to the people brought unto mee, whereof I have made a Booke herewith to bee shewed unto yo^r Majestie, if it please you to behould it contayning 3698 young striplings under the age of Eighteene yeares 3676 hable men for service, from eighteene to fifty & 1316 olde men above fifty, to be ymployed in severall degrees as hereafter is expressed together with the number of all sortes of serviceable horsses within everie Parish of the saide devision. Whereby you maie neerely gesse at the forces of yo^r whole Realme, which being reduced into the forme of Regimentes, and so into severall Armies prepared, directed, provided for, and conducted, as in the project & plott following maie appeare, I dare undertake for the expedicion of all manner of services the removing of errors out of officers, the freeing your warres from

from all abuses & disorders hereafter, and the securinge of yo^r Mat^ies state for ever, Fewe better courses cane be taken, Whereby as I hould my selfe out of doubte that the same (if no other) once effected will discorage the proudest enimy in the worlde ever from daring to invade this yo^r Realme, So most ferventlie I beseech the Lorde of hostes, that thereby yo^r bodie in safety, your minde in tranquilitie, and your life in felicitie, maie be prolonged by the addition of so many daies to yo^r yeares as in the laste of them maie come the dissolucion of the world and that in the meanetyme whosoever wisheth you best, maie never wish in vayne. Thus most humbly craving pardon for this my greate presumtion springing from the fountaine of unviolable faith, in the lowlines of a milde spiritt I kis your unspotted handes. Att my poore Cottage in Charleton.

Yo^r Majesties most faithfull
Servant and loyall subject,
H. KNYVETT.

Of the naturall scituacion of England with the power and force of the same.

THE Principall meane to put your most excellent Matie out of all doubt of any harme that maie befall you or your state by the malice of any forraigne Potentate or enemy whatsoever, is to consider how stronglie you are seated, how mightilie peopled, and how surelie you maie bee protected and defended. For the first poynt, it maie breefelie & trulie be saide, that it is an Ilande environed with a large Sea (thoughe in regard of the quantitie of the Ocean called Narrow) replenished wth a puissant Navye, aswell Royall as of Marchantes and others, and so both naturallie and artificiallie fenced & fortified with a most strong ditch and mighty wall, as thoughe God in his gratious

gratious wisedome had predestinated it ever to remaine invincible. Tuching the second it maie trulie bee verefied, that as the people thereof doe in number so exeede, as if some speedie order be not taken for the removinge of the surplusage, or at least of the basest and poorest sorte of them into some forraigne place of habitation the Realme cannot possible longe maintaine them; So yor Majestie without hiering any unproffitable and dangerous mercenary soldiers maie levie of yor owne subjectes a sufficient number to encounter any Potentate in Europe and leave enowe behinde to supplie all other necessarie tournes, as I hope hereafter shall manifestlie appeare. And as concerning the third and last poynt, it is most certayne that the saide subjectes (whose naturall strength of bodie, valore of minde, and aptnes of spirit, for the execution of all martiall accions, doth moste exactlie concurre) being sorted, proportioned, armed dissiplined,

dissiplined, and orderlie conducted, will both secure your state at home and as just occasion maie move enable your Highnes besides to chasten any yo^r mightiest neighbors that shall offer you or yours any wronge abroad, So as whether it maie be yo^r Majesties pleasure to contend with yo^r Enemyes by forraine warr, or to stand uppon your owne garde and defend your selfe at home, you shall ever be able to maintaine the one w^th honor and profitt, and continue the other in safetie w^thout losse.

Howe the Subjectes are to be mustered that the certayne number of them maie be knowne to yo^r Majestie, and howe they are to be sorted and enrolled according as the stature of theire bodies shall most fitlie agree w^ht the variety of Armes.

Notwithstanding such former musters as to good purpose have alredie byn taken

taken (which out of good experience I knowe are weaklie performed and unperfectlie left) I hould it verie necessary that yett once againe a generall muster be more exactlie made throughe out yo^r Majesties dominions by the Iustices of peace within each severall devision of the same, or other such officers as yo^r Majestie shall assigne for that purpose of all yo^r Highnes Subjectes whatsoever. And that in the saide viewe diligent care be taken to devide the same into foure sortes or kindes. The first whereof maie bee of the youth under the age of Eighteene yeares whome I woulde have enrolled under the title of younge striplinges, for that they are not yett ripe enoughe to be trayned. The seconde sorte woulde be of such as are aged from eightteene to fifty, which are most apt for all kinde of service (in no wise exempting the retaynors of Noble men Knightes Esquiers and gentlemen) whome I woulde have likewise inrolled under the

the title of such severall kindes of Armes as the stature of their bodies shall most aptlie require, namely the tall slender parsons, for Pike-ars, the stronge burleighe, for Musketiers & Halberdiers, The middle sised for targatiers, and the least of all, for Harquebutiers, And all such of everie sorte as are founde to bee stoute & strong Archers, for bowemen, with dispensation hereafter mencioned. The thirde sorte I woulde have of Noble men Knightes Esquiers and gentlemen, with theire houshould servantes (other then Hyndes) whoe are to be inrolled under the title of horsemen, for the which use they are most fitt. The fourth and last sorte must consequentlie bee of the residue of the saide subjectes above the age of Fiftie years whome I would have inrolled under the title of Domisticalls for that theire age begineth to crave a dispensation from all martiall actions, and yett they maie for the benefitt of the Common wealth otherwise

wise most necessarilie be used as hereafter may appeare. Also I hould it as convenient that the like musters be exactlie taken of all the horses, geldings, hackneis and carte Iades within yo^r Majesties dominions, Therein notinge which bee apte for men at armes to carry bardes which for Launciers, which for light horsmen, after the Northerne fashion, which for stradiotes after the Hungarian manner, which for harquebusiers and archers, and which for carriage, and so to be inrolled under those severall titles. Of which musters and inrolementes I would have perfect bookes made for everie the saide severall devisions according to the forme and manner of one which I have made for the devision wherein I dwell and serve yo^r Majestie, and the same faire written, to bee transferred upp to the Councell-table, to the end that yo^r Ma^tie and your privye Councell only maie once perfectlie knowe the certaine number of men and horse con-

contayned within yo^r Dominions, and the severall sortes of the same which alwaies will keepe one proporcion. Whereby yo^r Majestie maie both soundlie Iudge of yo^r owne force and power, and also evidentlie discerne from tyme to tyme, what parte thereof you maie bouldly imploye in any forraigne action without the enfeabling your state at home.

Howe the saide subjectes are to be ordered for the neccessary use and service of the Realme; And first of the youthe.

In as much as the Archery of England hath in former tymes deservedly borne greate and honorable fame in this parte of the worlde, and at this daie in the opinion of men of sounde Iudgment and greate experience is helde to bee an ordynance of no small importance especially for the defence and service of the Realme, And that it is certaynly to be proved that

that a late eronious conceipte of the excellency of shott above archers (voide of experience) hath wrought the same out of use whereby the force and vertue thereof is much decayed, which by ordynary exercise maie easilie be restored to the ancient perfection, I woulde have the said first sorte of yor Maties subjectes namely the youth under the age of eighteene yeares, to be constrayned according to the ancient lawes of the Realme in that case provided, to exercise the longe bowe diligentlie untill they achive the saide age of eighteene yeares, at which tyme upon viewe taken of them by the saide commissioners or some of them, I woulde have so many of them as were founde to bee likelie to prove faire stout & stronge archers inrolled into the muster-bookes under the same title with dispensation never to bee imployed in any Forraigne warres other then in an Armie Royall of the English Nation. And all the residue,

not likelie to become such archers as aforesaide, to bee inrolled into the muster-bookes under the other severall titles, that they may be imployed as occasion shall serve So as by meanes of the saide exercise (strictlie banishing all unlawfull games) there is no doubt but our Archerie will in shorte tyme become as stronge & effectuall as ever it was which maie evidentlie be proved by example of myselfe, that being maymed of both my handes after I was above fiftie yeares of age, by practice within two yeares, learned to shoote with my left hande so stronge as I was able to keepe companie with the strongest archers that came into the Feeld all daie not finding faulte with the length or distance of any marke, So as thereby, it maie be concluded, that use bringeth the greatest misterie therein; And by the saide meane of dispensation the Archers will farr sooner & more earnestlie be mooved to contynewe the practice of their bowes then by any

any lawe or constitucion that ever was made or canne be devised to that end, by reason that of late yeares all pryvate soldiers have bin so lightlie regarded, yea so uncharitablie and cruellie used as were it not for theire extraordinarie obedience and loyall love which they beare to yo^r most sacred Ma^tie they woulde more willinglie be hanged at there dores then abyde shamefull martirdome with sundry extremities abrode. And for the rare and excellent vertue of the longe bowe in all manner of warlike accions being artificiallie conducted, yf my purpose tended not to an other end, I would not doubte but to demonstrate by apparante reasons, and as certaynly to confirme the same by experience that in three places of service to two it surmounteth any kinde of manuall weapon whatsoever. And being a weapon wherewith God hath naturally adorned us above and before all the Nations in the worlde (whome with all kyndes of other

weapons wee canne redilie match, and with the longe bowe farre beyonde the conceipte of the ignorante wonderfullye surpas) I cannot but marvell how it cometh to passe, that wee have so contemned and rejected so apparant an oddes and thereby so singular an advantage over our neighbors unles God in his secrete wisedome to skourge us for our sines hath deprived our sences of the best instrument & rediest meanes of oure defence.

How the second sorte of subjectes namely those from eighteene to fiftie are to be used.

Nowe because such as are to become men of warre are to be of a perfect age most apte for all manner of services and best able to support & endure the infynite toyles & contynuall hazard of the warres, I have chosen all betweene the age of eighteene and Fiftie to become trayned soldiers, and of the best able of

of them onlie would I wish that yo^r foote forces should bee raised. The which in regarde of the greatest expedition in all manner of accions of warre, and of the exceeding benefitt which thereby maie redowne to yo^r Majestie (whoe longe by the shofeling courses of many disorders have bin much defrauded & impiously abused) I have thought most requisitt to compose and drawe into as many perticular & uniforme Regiments as the whole number of the best hable of that sorte, bisides the archars may supplie, allotting to everie severall Regiment thirteene perticuler bandes of footemen, namely one of three hundereth under the charge of the Collonell, and twelve of one hundereth and fiftie a peice under the charge of severall captaines and theire officers, all different the one from the other in coullers, and nyne perticular bandes of horsemen, Namelie one of a hundereth men at Armes & Launcis

under

under the charge of the saide Collonell, alwaise to be lede by some such principall Noble gentleman as the Collonell for his vertue and experience shall make choice of, and is well able to commaunde the other horse bandes, and eight moe of fiftie a peice some Launcis, some light horse, some stradiottes some arguletiers & Pistoliers and some Archers: So as everie regiment will contayne severallie in the whole, two thowsand & one hundereth foote men and five hundereth horsemen. And to the ende that everie one of the saide Captineries maie in the tyme of peace the more easilie and exactlie with least trouble & charge bee trayned and throughlie dissiplyned & in the tyme of warre the more quietlie ruled, carefully cherished, diligentlie overseene to have their armes and furniture ever in perfect and comly order and in all manner of accions artificially conducted, I have further devided everie of the saide perticular bandes

bandes both of foote and horse into sundrie squares of twenty five soldiers a peece, and everie square into two societies of twelve a pece, so as everie five and twentith person (whome I will nomynate a corporall or hede of a square) is to governe twenty foure besides him selfe, and everie twelthe parson whome I will nominate a dosenier) is to oversee elleven, besides him selfe. Thus have yee, to everie collonells pryvate company of foote twelve corporalles of squares and twentie foure dosoniers and in his company of horse foure like corporalles & eight dosoniers; and so proporcionablie, yee have the like number in every perticuler bande of one hundereth fiftie foote and fiftie horse which amounte in the whole for everie Regiment to eightie foure corporalles, and one hundereth sixtye eight doseniers in the foote companies, and twenty corporalls and fortie doseniers in the horse companyes, as maie more playnlie appeare by a demon-

demonstracion thereof made for the more brevity in the plates hereto anexed. Wherein by variety of letters and cullers maie easilie be discerned the order which I have chosen for the placing of everie perticuler bande and therein of everie perticuler person in the roome where without chaunge hee is appoynted to contynue: and so for the arming & weaponing of them according to the saide places of service unto them assigned, with such reasons as my simple capacitie canne yeeld, for proofe of the same to bee allowed worthie to be followed and put in use before any order and forme heretofore any where used.

How the third sorte of Subjectes namelie Noblemen, Knightes Esquiers, & gentlemen with theire houshold servauntes are to bee used.

In as much as the nobilitie and gentillitie are the greatest breeders of service-

serviceable horses & geldings, & that thay & their houshould serving-men doe most delight in, and exercise horsemanshipp, or at the least are more oftener & better inured with riding then others, and thereby maye the sooner be trayned to perfection the which once obtayned they are most likelie to performe valiant and resolute executions, I have chosen the saide thirde sorte to bee imployed only in that service. And to the ende the multitude of horsemen maie bee increased (which is the principall strength of yo^r Realme in generall, & of an army in perticuler) and that the same maie ever bee kept in better redines then nowe they are and contynued in exercise w^thout charge; I wish that all the bandes of horsemen alredy raysed throughe the Realme may be dissolved, as well because theyare unproperlie furnished, slenderlie instructed, and chargably maintayned, as also for that many are ordayned for Lanciers that may carry bardes

bardes and serve for men at Armes, many for light horse that maie serve for Lanciers, and many for arguletiers that are most proper for light horse or Pistoliers, and many not used at all that best maie serve for argulatiers & archers besides a sufficient number which maie be reserved for all maner of cariages. All wch being aptlie proportioned I would have remaine under the trayne of everie Nobleman Knight and gentleman in the severall parrishes of theire habitacions so as order maie be taken that everie such of the Nobility and gentillitie be commaunded to drawe out of their owne stables, and call before them as many of the saide severall Kyndes of horsses geldinges and hackneis as from tyme to tyme shall be founde remayning in the severall parrishes where they dwell, appoynting for everie horse according to his nature and kynde a sufficient man to ride him and the same to cause to bee armed weaponed and furnished according to the

the varietie of everie sorte of horse aforesaide, And everie hollidaie in the afternoone to traine them emongst suche footemen as are called together by the next corporall according to the order hereafter following, or in place where they are appoynted so to meete aswell to exercise all the feates of armes proper to themselves, as also to make offer of charges retraites and such like towardes and from the saide pettie Companyes of footemen, whereby whensoever yo^{r} Ma^{tie} shall have any occasion to ymploye any companies of horsemen into anye forraine action, you maie presentlie upon view of the muster bookes levye them, who redylie shall likewise be able to discharg theire office artificiallie therunto brought without trouble or charge, and for the defence of yo^{r} state at home, whereas nowe there are levied but here and there one, and so the number fewe, you shall hereby ever fynde such a multitude of skylfull horsemen redie to be conducted

ducted by such expert Captaynes as yo^{r} Highnes shall appoynt as will make the earth to thunder a terror to any enemy in the Worlde that shall presume to sett foote uppon yo^{r} territories, Wherby yo^{r} generall being suer to be Master of the fielde in horsemen, maie be accounted unworthie of his place, if hee doe not vanquish & overthrowe the greatest army of footemen that canne be brought to make hedde against him, as I canne proove by infinit examples if my purpose were therein to maintayne any argument.

How the fourth sorte of yo^{r} Subjectes namely the reste above the age of fiftie are to be used.

Because time doth nowe begine to offer such as exceede the age of fifty yeares quiett acces to peace & rest and that theire longe experience (as it is supposed) hath brede in them perfect knowledg & profounde Judgment I hould it convenient that all such be exempted

exempted from all manner of millitar servises other then voluntary, and that they be reserved at home for the goverment & necessarie busines of the Common wealth. For as nothing maie be forborne and left undone that maie concerne the maintainance, proffitt & upholding of the same (to which ende only all the courses and actions herein specified are principally devised & offered) So in tyme of uprore, broyle, and Alaromes, nothing canne be more necessarie, then good, & diligent regarde of the meane poore and basest sorte of light headed ill contented people and evell disposed mindes, which then wilbee most prone to the execution of mischiefe, when the better sorte are dutifully occupied in the defence or other such like service of their Prince & Country unlesse they maye be restrayned or hemmed in with the compas and listes of presise govermente by the gravity and stoutnes of wise & expert Majestrates & officers.

Of

Of the election of Collonells Captaines & other officers appartayning to each Regiment, that the abuses of yor Majestie, and other disorders nowe a daies used, maie the rather be reformed if it be possible.

To make recitall perticularlie of the errors and disorders crept into our warrs in theise daies were a troublesome busines for mee, and to tedious a worke for yor Majestie to peruse and therefore sith it is knowne by longe experience that the corruption thereof springeth onlie from the rash and evill choyse which hath byn most commonlie made of needie riotous licentious, ignorant and base collonells, Captaynes, Leiuetenantes, Ensignes, Sargentes, & such like officers, who have made marchandize of theire places & without regard of theire duty or respect of conscience have made porte sale of theire soldiers bloode & lives to maintayne theire un-

unthriftines & disorders; It will be most answerable to my desire of brevity in everie poynt, to informe your Majestie whoe are moste likly to doe you, and their Country best and truest service in the saide callings, & to redresse the inconveniences of to much liberty given to such unworthy men. I am therefore throughlie perswaded that if it might please yo^r Highnes from hence foorth to commaunde that the saide officers be chosen of the Noblemen Knightes, Esquiers, & gentlemen of the Country inhabiting within the circuit where the saide soldiers are levyed, the neighborly acquaintance and mutuall love betweene them will ingender a necessary care one of the other and such a conformyty in every condition as the countrie shall not bee pilled nor poled in the begining, yo^r Highnes not deceaved nor the soldiers defrauded in the proceeding, nor any horse armore furniture or ought els ymbeseled in the ending, but what ever

ever maie bee preserved wilbe restored to the owners againe, in regarde of the reputation and creditt which both officers & soldiers will strive to conserve for ever amongst their neighbors. And no doubt but such will prove most tractable industrious, and obedient in all poyntes of true dissiplyne, & most valiant and resolute in all manner of millitary actions, in respect they are free from the contagion of the moderne corrupted and impious customes of bare & unrulie mercinarie chieftaines and soldiers, which from hencefoorth (because many of them are not held worthie to come into the company of civill people, I would have only taken upp by the drume as voluntarie men to be imployed by them selves in all services, untill they with their evill disorders were utterlie consumed, or by the example of the vertuous, or Justice of severe dissipline throughlie reformed.

How

How the horse Soldiers are to be trayned with most facillitie & least charge.

For the avoyding of the excessive & unnecessarie troble and charge which the Realme is put unto in every sheire w^th^ ignorant and base muster Masters, depending uppon great men, that otherwise have no pleasure to releeve their unworthie wantes. I wish that they were all discharged, with a strict injunction to commaund them either abroad into some forrayn warres, or els at home to their olde occupacions and trades, wherein they have best skill, and so in tyme maie be drawne from theire idle & prodigall humors, and that for the speadie trayning and dissiplining of the said newe forces, the same maner (w^ch^ I wish w^thout^ all presumption) be generallie sett a worke through the Realme w^ch^ in the division where I commaund six hundred footemen, I have caused to be practised, and

 thereby

thereby effected more good in shorte tyme then hath bin brought to passe these fourtene yeares past. For whereas to the greate trouble toyle and charge of the Country rounde aboute me, the muster masters cause the Collonells and captaines to gather their whole companies together, and so keeping them three or foure daies, make them walk upp and downe and labor in unnecessarie actions to litle purpose, saving for the spending of a greate deale of powder wastfullie, and twelve pence a daie for everie soldier with other exactions for officers, I have taken order, that everie Corporall of five and twenty aforesaide within my charge doth call his company together sometymes at one parish church and sometimes at another w^th^in the circuit of everie theire Corporall shipps uppon the hollidaies in the afternoones, whereby the lookers on maie receave greate instructions, and by immitacion reape greate knowledg; And so doe they see theire charge well

well and sufficientlie furnished with their armes and all thinges els necessarie, and doe dissipline & trayne them in all manner of science and practises proper for all service in ernest, & especially doe frame the shott to be perfect Markemen with the expence of one pounde of powder for everie man which never was effected before, and yet with no more difficultie, and in no other manner then any boy within three dayes maie be taught perfectly to kill fowle for his masters hawkes, putting them to never a penny charge more about all this busines, in that none of them doth travell above a mile from his habitation, nor is forced to be from thence absent above three howers in a daie with his march forwarde and bakeward. In w^ch^ severall companies after they shall be labored to some perfection, I purpose then to have them drawne together to be exercised once or twise in the yeare, in the whole bandes whereof the one maie

bee in the Whitsontide holidaies, where I woulde have the whole Regimente w^th^ competent horse of each kynde to attende the same, to meete about the midle of the shiere, and to continew together one daie and two nightes at the least, to make them acquainted in Campe with all thinges proper to men of warre, and to knitt them upp in the perfection of all actions fitt for theire capacities and callings. The which course being followed and contynued throughe the Realme, but one two yeares, and the Nobilitie & gentillity, put to no other charge then in observing the order before specified in the preparing of theire owne and parishno^rs^ horse, Your Ma^tie^ maye houlde yo^r^selfe safe from the malice of the worlde, and I dare undertake that if Richard the second at a Iorney pretended into Scottland, the Eight yeare of his Raigne, did ioye in the appearance & muster before him of three hundered thowsand horsemen, yo^r^ Ma^tie^ shall

shall have good cause to be pleased with the number of serviceable horse of all kyndes, which by the said meanes will be raised furnished and trayned, ever to be redie at the turning of a hand for every service either forraigne or domesticall. And if it be trulie considered, in the defence of yo^r state, what effect the multitude of horsemen maie worke and that accordinglie in tyme of necessitie they be ymployed with a competent number of the Regimentes of footemen devided into severall armies in manner as hereafter ensueth, I hold my selfe out of doubte that it will cause the greatest Enemies yo^r Highnes hath to be twise advised ere once they attempt to invade any of your teritories, and rather make the proudest of them to feare your disturbance of them abroade. Whereupon what good effects maie follow both to the peace and quiett of yo^r sacred minde, & securitie of yo^r Royall state, I houlde

houlde him symple that doth not palpablie feele.

Howe the saide forces maie beste without confusion be drawne together for the defence of the Realme upon any Alarome of fyring of Becons.

Nowthat yo^{r} Majestie by the meanes aforesaide maie playnlie discerne the quantitie and quallitie of yo^{r} Monarque, & forces thereof, it maie seeme a matter verie easie out of the same in shorte tyme redilie to levy a competent number for any forraine service, such as maie be spared without weakening yo^{r} state at home (which ever would be so many and so well furnished as without the assistance of friendes or associates might effect what ever they undertake) howbeit upon the ynvasion of a mightie enemy, orderlie and speedilie to draw all the forces of the Realme in degrees together wthout confusion I hould it

it to be no easie matter, without greate forsight and carefull preparacion before hande, so that no detraction of tyme or other impediment maie hinder the necessitie thereof and the present service to ensue. The best course therefore in my opinion to effect the same, is to compose the saide forces into severall armies of six Regimentes a peice, which will amount to twelve thowsand six hundereth footemen and three thowsand horse w^ch^ I gesse maie rise to some eight or ten armies at the least, And to assigne to everie one of them a severall place of assemblie in or neere some Cittie or Porte towne where the enemy is most like to land one that coast, unto the which uppon any alarome or fireing of Beacons, without staie everie privat person belonging to the saide Army from his owne habitation, with horse armore and weapon throughlie furnished, must be injoyned to resorte, with all speede, and there to seeke out his Captaines

Captaines and Collonells lodginge by view of his ensigne hanged foorth of the same, or sownd of his drome. And by that tyme that the Collonells and Captaines have gotten their companies togeather and bee redie to enter into Campe, (which in reason will be with most seleritie) such principall officers and Councellors as yo^{r} Mat^{ie} is then and not before to nominate and appoynt for the goverment and conducting of each armie, will become likewise unto every severall place of assembly & finde the same redy to marche.

How provision may be best made of all thinges necessarie for the maintenance of yo^{r} Ma^{is} forces.

Now in as much as an orderlie course for the speedie meetinge of everie the saide armies at theire severall places of assemblies is playnely shewed, whereby many inconveniences maie bee prevented, and as many good effects

effects follow I hould it very necessarie that such provident care for the provision of all thinges incident unto the same be in due tyme had, as nothing maie be wanting that is convenient for theire maintainaunce or incoragment towards theire enterprise when they meete: And therefore it were requisit to have three principall officers elected inhabiting within the Presinque of those Shieres out of the w^ch the people proper to everie severall armie are to be drawne, and the same to be resident in the saide severall places of assemblie, Of the which the principall is to be Tresorer, whoe in degree woulde be a Knight at the least, of approved religion and integritie of the beste sorte for livelihode and wealth, and in every respect liklie to bee free from all kinde of covetousnes other then of Justice and true hono^r. The other, Master of the ordinaunce, whoe likewise should be a Knight of like religion and vertue and of good livelihode, or at the least

least an Esquire of the best calling. The third, Master of the victualls who also woulde be an Esquier or a gentleman of good calling, at the least quallified in everie respect as the other before. And althoughe I am perswaded, that in tyme without any burden or hinderance unto yo^{r} Mat^{ie} many plawsible meanes maie easilie be founde out to bringe treasure more then enoughe to every of the saide severall treasuries, out of the Shieres appropriated to everie perticular Army (which for many respectes I forbeare in this place to sett downe) yett for the present (the better to content the common people) I would wish that it please yo^{r} Majestie, to disburse to every of the saide treasorers so much redy money as were sufficient to provide at yo^{r} ordinarie prises a store of victualls to remaine in everie place or assemblie proporcionable for the maintainaunce of everie severall Army the space of one Moneth, of which treasure the better

better parte, by the saide Master of the victualls or his substitutes, woulde be justly and trulie imployed within the saide severall Circuites, to the end that in tyme by good husbandrie, the same maie certaynlie so increase as besides the ordinarie charges of the officers, the principall maie bee gayned. For be it that there be disbursed ten thowsand poundes for victualls at such ordynarie prises as by vertue of yo^r Majesties Comissions are usuallie taken upp for the provision of your Houshold (whereat I hould myselfe out of doubt that no good subject to so good a use will grudg.) and at the monethes end or in some reasonable tyme, the same (being unfitt longer to be kept in store) be sould at such prises as in the Countrie adjoyning it maie yeelde at the uttermost rate, It is in reason verie manyfest, that at everie exchaunge such gaine will bee gotten, as in shorte tyme it will bringe in the principall, If you be but

but indifferently dealt with. So as ere that your Majestie shall have any occasion to gather yor forces together to make hedd against any invador (who will have many double mindes before hee attempte any matter against you, being so well prepared to resist him). If there were no other meanes to increase yor treasure, this onlie would suffice the torne of your defensive warres, & yett some other parte of the saide treasure being in like manner bestowed by the Master of the ordynance for the provision of all kyndes of munition & other thinges incident to his office, and so likewise from tyme to tyme exchaunged to reasonable gayne will also add some helpe thereunto. Now althoughe it maie be thought as convenient that under the charge of carriage-masters such' like provision maie be made for everie severall Armie of all thinges belonginge to theire office, whereof they maie have as greate neede and use as of any the precedent

precedent provisions, in that without sufficient carriages neither money victualls munition nor ought els necessarie can follow the Campe, yett because in the meane tyme before wee neede the use of them there will no gaine rise by the provision and packinge upp thereof in storehouses, but rather the contrary, I hould it sufficient that in every Sheire a proporcionable number of Carriages for the treasure, victualls munition, great artillery proper to everie regiment, the greate officers, and Captaines & all other thinges necessarie for everie severall army be sett downe and prepared, to be redy at an howers warninge upon any allarom or fiering of the Beacones, to repaire withall expedition to the saide severall places of assemblies with a competent number of Cart horse for the draught of the same, & the greate artillery proper to everie Regiment, Namely two fawlconettes, two faulcons and two Mynions

Mynions, the which the master of the Ordynance must alwaise see to bee mounted uppon good & sure Carriages, so as when occasion shall move a generall assembly Carriage-masters maie then be assigned to the perticular charge of the same, who also woulde be gentlemen in degree disposition & conversation, as the other aforsaide officers are wished to be. And even so when yo^{r} Majesty shall have any occasion to sende any Army Royall into any Forraigne Countries, or maintaine any other forces abroad, whereas under culler of good husbandry and staying of yo^{r} treasure at home (which I take to be but a fallex) the manner is nowe that yo^{r} men of warr have weeklie lendings victualls Apparell & other necessaries by the provition of the marchantes upon exchaunge: if it maie please yo^{r} Highnes hereafter to take order that yo^{r} owne officers chosen of the most vertuous and honest sorte upon such prises as afore-

aforesaide, maie provide all thinges necessarie within yo^{r} owne dominions for the use of yo^{r} men of warre abroade, and that the same maie bee transported in yo^{r} owne bottomes to some such towne as shoulde be founde most convenient for the purpose from whence under safe conduct it maie from tyme to tyme bee transported to the Campe or garison townes, and there sould to the soldiers at such rates as the Countries thereaboutes yeelde the like; for ought I conceave yo^{r} Majestie maie thereby prevent the transportacion of redie Coyne necessarilie imploye some parte of yo^{r} Navie, which never shall neede to come emptie home, and save yo^{r} charges at the least by the gaine of the saide exchaunges besides the increase of marriners with many other commodities w^{ch} will ensue, whereof I forbeare to speake. So as when everie perticular & private person according to theire callings maie have out of your Majesties store

store all thinges necessarie both for their backes & bellies, with allowance of Armes and munition (which in any wise must be provided as good of all sortes as any where els the like maie be had for money) they will in no respect grudge to be straightlie injoyned & compelled to take theire whole paie and all thinges els whereof they shall have neede out of yor Majestis store of provision. And althoughe thereby they shall have the lesse neede of the use of much money, yett because money doth much incorage mennes myndes especially of such as will endevoure to save some part of their paie to comforte them when the warres are ended, seeing the matter maie be so ordered as it shall butt passe out of your Coffers to be imployed and transported in one kynde and assuredlie retorne to the same in another, I would wish that the whole Armie (being injoyned as aforesaide) according to theire place and callinges, shoulde

shoulde be monethly paide by the powle in readie money, deductinge so much as either in prest victualls, apparrell, Armes, munition or els what they have before hand receaved. So as in reason it must needes fall out that by the often exchaunge & supplie of victualls and other thinges as aforesaid, not only that which they receave in paie, will with increase be brought backe againe, but also whatsoever els by booties or any other meanes they canne procure which course being strictlie followed, I see no reason to the contrarie but that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} maie easilie maintaine an Army of Twenty foure thousand footemen and six thousand horse in any forraine kingdome whatsoever, at the least one of twelve thousande six hundereth foote & three thowsand horse then the which I cannot allowe that fewer should bee sente over in assistance of any leauge of association, In that of theire owne power as I have before specified they ought

ever to be able to effect any enterprise they take in hand without the assistance of theire confederats whose curtesies and kyndnes in tyme of neede prove often verie feeble and trecherous. And therefore sith this Realme maintayneth so many thousandes at home, there is no reason but the same maie uphold a handful abroade in comparison of the multitude it feedeth at home, sith they muste live at home that cane but live abroade, and whye they shoulde not as easilie be nurrished abroade as at home, I cannot conceave any trewe grounde, but that in regarde everie man is suffered in all disorder & licentiousnes to live as he listeth, havocke is made of all thinges w^ch^ should be preserved, and so for want of true dissipline, the hono^r^ and wealth both of Prince & Countrie is desperatelie and frivilouslie ruinated.

How the saide Armies are severally to be conducted & governed to make

make heade against the enymie and so to entertaine him by degrees as they maie be sure to overcome him or put him to flight.

Althoughe most men of sounde Iudgment do houlde it for certayne, that hardlie any forraine power canne be gathered together sufficiente to prevaile against yo^r^ Majestie, but that you must needes have intelligence thereof so long before hand as easilie you maie prevent theire mallice by one meanes or other if you will, and by reason of infinit impedimentes which maie stumble in theire waies, in their combyning, before their imbarking, in theire passage, and especially at theire landing, they shall fynde as hard a matter quietly to passe throughe the narrowe seas & safely to enter uppon any yo^r^ dominions, as they prove it easy to march upon the Continent throughe the Countries of mightie Princes Malgre theire teathes; Yett for the avoyding of all incon-

veniences which maie happen by the unadvised and hastie concourse of a multitude without order, and to bee assured w^th^out fleshinge the enemy by loose of yo^r^ owne bloode, to fight with him either at the landing or as soone after as maye be, and so in reason without any greate losse easilie to vanquish his whole power I houlde it the best course (the saide Armies makeing repaire to the severall places of assemblies fullie prepared as aforesaid) that the army which by destinie is ordayned to be nearest to the place or Porte where the enymie shall first approche should first march to make hedde against him by all meanes possible, to staie his incurtions, as by casting of trenches, fortifying of straites and other such like impedimentes, In any wise avoyding all manner of feightes, other then upon greate and assured advantage, untill the coming of an other armie to seconde the first, and so of the third, fourth, and the rest, or so many of them

them at the least as maie well be ymployed to the assured Conquest of the enymie wherein oure multitude of horsemen will no doubte wonderfully prevaile both in regarde that no enemie can transporte any greate power of horse, and the overplus of ours, will day and nighte so houlde theire noses to the grindstone, as in the nighte they shall take no rest, and in the daie they shall not putt a man out of their battells of Pykes for any use whatsoever, but hee shall foorth with be beaten in, or cutt in peeces. So as thereby wee being alwaies master of the fielde shall easilie with our horsemen at everie hande beate theire shott into theire Pikes which done wee maie with out resistance bringe downe our ingens, shott, and greate Artillerie (w^ch^ for that purpose onlie I would have to bee no bigger then Fawlconettes falcons, or minions, as aforesaide, in that wee are unliklie to have any cause to use any battering peeces) and therewith

with as at Birdes in a Cage, shote at and beate them to peeces, or force them to yeeld. So as if our mindes bee not distracted, and that in faith to God and loyally to your Majestie wee continew united, makeing Ireland safe and conserving a perfect league with the Kinge of Scottes his allies and associates althoughe you maie faile in keeping the ballance even betweene the states of Holland, Zealand and the provinces united of Flaunders and Brabant on the one side, and the Spanish & French on the other side (wherin as occasion maie serve on either side you maye add a Cole to the cooling fier alredie kyndled, to make the flame equall) yett yo^{r} Highnes soundely depending upon the unfallible force of yo^{r} owne Teritories, shall have no cause to stande in any doubt of the combinacion against you of all the potentates in Europe, for both by sea and land, you shall ever be able to overmatch them. The which the more assured-

lie

lie to comfirme for our owne partes, because nothing tyeth man to due obedience & faithfull service more then the bande of Religion, and that it were most perrillous that any member of the aforesaide bodies of Regimentes and Armies, shoulde bee currupted or defective, whereby hee might bee drawne to dissent in loyallty, & so becoming trecheros, mutenous and rebellious, might indaunger the whole Common Wealth: I would have a strict order taken for the swearing of every perticuler person of what degree soever before hee be allowed or accepted into any office, trayne, or place within any the foresaide Armies, As well for the supremasie as his loyallty & fidelitie to yo^r Majestie & obedience to yo^r generall & other superior officers so long as the service contynueth.

How the saide Armies both abrode & at home maie bee kept entier & all other disorders now a dayes crept

crept into yo^r warres reformed or extinguished.

The corruption which longe hath bin fostered in the disordered warres of theis latter tymes of Civill dissention in Fraunce and in the Lowe Countries being nowe apparant to all the world, and some remedies for the same aymed at in this simple treatis I hope it maie stande with the good liking of everie reformed minde, and the necessarie desire of yo^r Majesty to have yo^r forces once levied, ever the same that you paie for, and the same most trulie paide, which yo^u most honorablie & bountifullie allow them. If the killing or robbing a man by the highe waie side deserve deathe, what punishment are they worthie to have, that by deminishing theire companies for gaine, & robbing the Prince of deade payes to maintaine their licentiousnes, are the cause of lingeringe warres to the greate distruction of a multitude of valiant men,

men, the unjust wasting of the Princes treasure, and betraying of the accions they take in hande. Trulie ten deathes were to little for them, & the penaltie of treason theire true rewarde of theire desert; And therefore it is more then highe time that the necessarie yoke of true dissipline were severalie offered them. The which that they maie the more willinglie put one, and quietlie beare, I hould it requisit that a competent quantitie of treasure besides sufficient for the ordinarie monethes paie of the Army should ever remaine in store in the Tresorers handes at the generalls commaundement; And yett I am perswaded y^t^ the force & vertue of any Army which yo^r^ Majestie will send forth, shall ever by booties or other Politique meanes be able to augment & maintaine the same so sufficiently after yo^r^ Army is entered the enemies Countrie under the Conduct of a worthie generall, as there will be no greate neede of a supplie out

out of yo^r Ma^tis Coffers. Neverthelesse as he that in a Mummerie carryeth the box and bravelie shaketh the same thoughe hee mindeth not to venter the losse of halfe the money therein contayned, So would I that yo^r generall should have at his devotion a greate deale more treasure, then hee shall have neede or will to occupie, aswell to dismaie his adversaries as to comfort his frendes, and also to rewarde all his followers bountifullie according to theire merrites, and to requite intelligencers spies and such like instrumentaries according to theire paynes & service; For otherwise how or w^th what creditt or conscience canne hee commaund, worke any greate effect with, or chasten those, whome indeede hee doth not trulie paie & recompence, or at the least so provide for, as they want nothing necessarie, and maie be in some hope by good husbandrie, of a little store to releeve them at the ende of the warres, or what service

canne

canne bee looked for of such soldiers, as for wante of garmentes and other necessaries ashamed of themselves, perish for could and hide themselves, or Mutenye when they should undertake accions of most moment, And so forced by greate extreamities, fall to robbing of theire confederates and frendes, Yea sometymes of theire owne Companions, that most Countries thereby growe wearie of our Nation (heretofore helde to be the most Civill people in the worlde) more then of theire professed enemyes. And therefore yo^r generall (whome I would wish above all thinges to bee a Nobleman of approved vertue, perfect religion, & knowne wealth, only desireous of true honor without greedie appetite of lucer and sincerly bent to undertake and followe the accion for the honor of him selfe and glorie of his Countrie) having treasure at commaundement as aforesaid, must likewise have large aucthoritie under your gratious Letters Pattents to extende

tende equall Iustice with seueritie to all sortes of people within his government aswell highe as lowe, wherein hee must bee as carefull with judgment to rewarde everie worthie man according to his usuall desert, as to punish every offender with severitie according to the nature of his offence, and so maie all Captaines & officers bee constrayned to keepe theire companies as entier as is possible, for that they are not hereafter to have any dede paies allowed them, but under a greate penaltie to bee forced to deliver strict and true certifficates, of everie the severall entries of theire soldiers into paie, and the discharge of them by death or otherwise, so as the fuller thep keepe theire companies (being the principall meane speedelie to effect the service they take in hande) the more creditt with the generall they shall gaine, and for the same, the more bountifully bee rewarded with his owne handes, and ever helde worthie according to the ancient cus-

tome

tome (wch woulde from hencefoorth be observed unviolable) to rise from place to place even from private soldiers, to everie degree in the field not above a Corronell, as the fortune of the warres maie afforde their worthie actions, And not to be chopped & chaunged & misplaced for favor, as nowe a daies to the greate discorage-ment of froward spirites is to much used. Besides all other disorders by the care & industerie of the generall (so chosen & inhabled as aforesaide) maie be amended or suppressed as the not wearing of such armes as they are appoynted, If they list to cast them of, wch in my conceipt is a straunge & perilous tolleracion, the excesse of costlie diet & apparrell, the beastlie custome of drunken Carrowsing the surchargingthe Campe with multitudes of weomen and boyes, the untoller-able pilfering of freebooters, and in a worde all newe barberus inormities whatsoever, And so much the rather will this reformacion growe, if the councell

councell and other superior officers proper to the army be likewise carefullie chosen & that if it bee possible, they maie be of the greatest calling under the degree of the generall, and quallified in everie respect fitting theire profession and the accion they have in hand, whereby to conclude it is most apparant, that the generall and counsaile aucthorised and furnished as aforesaide are wourthie of unexcusable reprehention, if they doe not governe & maintaine the Armie abroade as Civillie & frugallie as the members thereof maie be ruled & preserved at home, sith the martiall lawe is the lodestone of the field, and that their are no moe mouthes & backes, to be fedd & sustayned abroade, then might have remayned, if they had not bin levied in the severall parrishes of theire habitacions or aboade, And therefore must have byn maintayned with the same charge at home, which in reason may be proportion-

portionablye sufficient to defraye the like abroade.

Some fewe reasons emonge many moe which might be alleaged to recommend the saide order of Regimentes above & before all others heretofore used.

Firste whereas upponeverie chaunge of the nature of the soyle & Countrie throughe which an army is forced to martch, the manner hath bin heretofore accordinglie to alter & chaung the formes of the battells wherein much pretions tyme hath bin spent, & lost, and whereby most of the privat Companies if not all have bin shofled upp from place to place, & from corner to corner one from the other, and so drawne from the goverment and leading of their Captaines & officers to the greate hinderance of the service & occasion of many mutenies & disorders. Now by the deviding of yo^r^ Armies into Regimentes, and every

every Regiment into perticuler bandes, & everie parson in his proper place once setled without alteration as by the plattes anexed maie appeare, whatsoever the nature of the soyle be wherein they are to martch either champion or woodlande, they maie passe in order & throughe any straight where three maie martch in ranke, and assone as they have so without any staye passed, and are come to any sufficient playne that maye contayne the whole in order againe, they will presently rune into the same they were before, and so foorthwith even at an instant when they are to encounter the enemy as the generall or other principall commaunder shall appoynt, Conjoyning 2. 3. 4. or 6 Regimentes togeather they maie make three, two, or one whole bodie as they list or (whereof I best allowe) reserve some one or two Regimentes a parte to come fresh in ayde of the rest, or to follow the executions as occasion shall most aptlie proffer, and so not

chopped

chopped and chaunged out of theire ordinarie places they shall in all their actions ever remaine under the conduct and commaunde of theire proper officers, which is a matter of no small moment. Next, if they bee broken & putt to rowte and by theire Comaunders passing before them on horsbacke to some convenient place of Advantage to make a stand maie so be stayed, they maie presentlie runne into theire former order againe, by reason they are so perfectlie acquainted with theire places, longe before the enemie pursuing them scattered cane overtake them in any other order to anoye them.

Thirdlie the armie being incamped according to their march everie Regiment both of horse and foote a parte, whereas the moderne manner is out of everie bande to collect a Corporallshipp thereby to cover certaine faultes, Nowe if order be hereafter taken that the whole bandes maie watch & warde togeather, the

same amounting to the thirde parte of the armie as it ought to doe, everie imperfeccion and disorder will playnelie be discovered to their captaines and such as are to redresse the same.

Fourthlie if any exployte be speedilie to be executed, either for the possessing of any grounde of advantage to remove the Campe unto or to fight with the enemie in, or to stopp or interrupt any passage, or to meete with any Convoye, or to take any booty or any such like, without any other direction of the Sergent-Majore, then informacion of the attempt to bee made, everie Regiment, or so many of them in lesse companies as shalbe assigned, will with such expedition knowing theire places by custome, runne out of the Campe into order by the waie as they are passing towardes the place of the appoynted service so as they maie achive the same longe before the enemies possiblie canne thoughe they were

were neerer the saide place by halfe the waie marching in any other order.

Fiftlie the bodie of everie Regimente being thrise so many well neere in front as they are in flanke, are all hevelie armed of purpose to stand fast and fight for the honor of the field if they be forced thereunto, otherwise to be a garde & defence for the rest which are alwaies to be executors of everie light service, and therefore are lightlie armed and weaponed, so as the one parte are alwaies to remaine firme and the other to be imployed as occasion shall serve.

Sixtlie whereas by confounding the companies togeather as aforesaide, the Captaines & officers canne hardlie or will not at any tyme give the Sergent Major true Certificate of the varietie & number of the weapons contayned in theire severall companies, and whereas at everie musters they doe patche upp theire numbers by

by slight, Now everie day as the armie marcheth in manner as the Captineres are severally placed in the Regimentes, both the Sergent Major maie daylie take a true and perfect note for his remembrance of every thing belonging to his office, and especially (which is to greatest purpose) yo^{r} Majesties muster maisters by this order maie better take a more perfect & exact viewe of everie private company & everie parson in the fielde as they daylie martch, then possible they maie in any daie or tyme appoynted for the especiall musters, whereby they maie assuredly doe yo^{r} Majestie most true & proffittable service. In which otherwise after the old manner they may be overtaken by many slights thoughe they meane never so truly.

Lastlie whensoever yo^{r} Majestie shalbe disposed to raise an Armie Royall or what companie soever to bee imployed in any forraigne service, you maie redelie levie them out of the Regiments

Regiments indifferentlie taking from the same, either whole bandes, Corporallshipps, or Dozoners till the number of yor Armie bee fullfilled. Which petty companyes maie presentlie be supplied againe out of the saide sorte of yor Subjects aged betweene Eighteene & fifty.

NOTES

PAGE 5, line 15. 'Most aucthours that have written in the Arte of warr.' It is probably doing Sir Henry Knyvett no injustice to suppose that he only read military works published in the English language. Probably he had studied the following works, the titles and dates of which are taken from Major Cockle's admirable *Bibliography of English Military Books*, London, 1900 :—

Caxton's translation of *Christine de Pisan*, 1489.

Richard Morysine's translation of Sextus Julius Frontinus. 1539.

Peter Betham's translation of Count Giancomo Porcia's *Preceptes of Warre*. 1544.

Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus*. 1545.

Peter Whitehorne's translation of Macchiavelli's *Arte of Warre*. 1560.—Other editions 1573, 1588.

Peter Whitehorne's *Certain Waies for the orderyng of Souldiers in battel array, &c., &c.* 1562.

Peter Whitehorne's translation of Onosander's *The General Captaine & of his office*. 1563.

John Sadler's translation of Flavius Vegetius. 1572.

Girolamo Catano's *Briefe Tables, &c. in English*. 1574.

Barnaby Rich's *Alarme to England*. 1578.

Thomas

Thomas Digges. *An Arithmetical Militare Treatise.* 1579.

Geoffrey Gates. *The Defence of Militarie Profession.* 1579.

William Blandy's *The Castle or picture of policy.* 1581.

Thomas Styward's *Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline.* 1581.

Nicholas Litchfield's translation of Gutierrez de la Vega. 1582.

Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester's *Lawes & Ordinances for the English Forces in the Low Countries.* 1586.

Edward Aggas' translation of François de la Noue's *Politicke and Military Discourses.* 1587.

Cyprian Lucar's translation of Nicolo Tartaglia's *Colloquies.* 1588.

Sir Roger William's *A Briefe Discourse of Warre.* 1590.

Sir John Smythe. *Certain Discourses.* 1590.

PAGE 8, lines 8–11. If we examine the figures given by Knyvett we find that there must have been some extraordinary error either on the part of the author or of his transcriber. Accepting as accurate the figure of the men from eighteen years to fifty, viz. 3676, then the figures for young striplings and for old men are out of all proportion and far too large. I have examined the last Census return of Wiltshire for 1901, and have worked out the proportionate numbers as compared with 3676 men between 18 and 50, and find them as follows:—

Young

Young striplings from 10 to 18 — 1380 against Knyvett's 3698.

Old men from 50 to 75 — 900 against Knyvett's 1316.

I do not suppose that Knyvett would have reckoned his young striplings down to such an early age as ten years, nor his old men to the age of seventy-five, so I have given him every advantage in the comparison. Perhaps arithmetic was not a strong point with Sir Henry Knyvett; but it is a pity that the figures which he offered to his revered Queen (as a specimen of how things should be done) will not bear a critical examination.

PAGE 15, line 8. 'bardes', also mentioned Page 26, line 1. This obsolete word is the name of an obsolete thing, i. e. the defensive armour of a charger. The definition in the Oxford Dictionary is 'a protective covering for the breast and flanks of a war-horse, made of metal plates, or of leather set with metal spikes or bosses'.

PAGE 22, line 10. 'Arguletiers', also Page 26, line 3. The spellings given in the Oxford Dictionary are Argoletier and Arguliteer—with the definition 'a light-armed horse-soldier originally a mounted bowman'. The writer of the Chetham Library MS. has written the word wrongly 'Argutetier', which I have corrected.

PAGES 46–48. Knyvett shows a well-founded suspicion of 'marchantes', for army contractors have

have always made excessive profits, even under the watchful eye of Napoleon, who finally imprisoned the richest of them. Knyvett wishes everything to be supplied by government officers in government ships, and he seems to be as jealous of a middleman or contractor as if he were a modern Socialist. His general argument appears to be as follows:—'If we send to our troops who are abroad on foreign service the food which they would eat if they were at home, the war should not in reality cost the country very much.' But what he expects the ships to bring home again in return for the food and ammunition which the troops consume abroad ('the Navie ... never shall need to come empty home') I cannot quite understand. Possibly he intended them to compete with merchantmen in bringing foreign goods and produce to England, and reckoned the freight as profit to the Government.

PAGE 56. The charges of corruption against officers in the Low Countries were notoriously well founded. I may quote from an unpublished MS. [Wood F 21, Bodleian Library], which gives an order of Feb. 1st, 1585 'for avoydinge of fraude & the advancement of the Service.' The order establishes commissaries to check the Musters and the disorders of the Captains—'If any Captayne after the receipts of his pay doe not orderly distribute the same amonge the Souldiers, the Commissaries may take notice of the gryeffes of the souldiers.' The last clause is

is as follows: 'Without some such orderlie course now established all things will fall into the former confusion. The bandes will be founde weake of men, worse armed, and worst of all trayned. The souldier for lucre starved and her Majesties Treasure undewlye ymployed and vainely wasted.'

PAGE 64, line 3. 'As by the plattes anexed maie appeare.' There are no plates annexed to this MS., which is therefore not complete—or else it was never completed as the author intended. This chapter seems written somewhat in generalities, but we must remember that till Clement Edmonds published *The Maner of our Modern Training* in 1600 there could not be said to be such a thing as a drill-book in the English language.

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